1: Kroeber E-5 (1901) 1908
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

sometimes put on the bow with glue made from boiled skin from the head of a buffalo. Sometimes the bow was without sinew backing and sometimes ornamented by being covered on the back with snake-skin. Bows are said to have been held either horizontally or vertically, according to individual habit. Arrows for war and hunting are said to have been alike.

Shields were made of the thickest part of buffalo-bull skin, which was laid into a hole in the ground and made hard by being scorched with hot rocks placed upon it. It was then provided with a cover of white buckskin fringed with feathers. A man who carried a shield in war sometimes had no other weapon.

It is declared that no tobacco was raised, and that none growing wild was gathered, but that it was obtained from other tribes and from the whites. This is contrary to the practice of the equally non-agricultural Blackfoot, who planted tobacco; but it would seem to accord with the lack of any information obtained from the Arapaho as to tobacco-raising.

DECORATIVE ART.

The present day decorative art of the Gros Ventre is not nearly as strongly developed as that of the Arapaho. There is much less bead-work made, and this hardly ever equals the better work of the Arapaho either in technical or artistic excellence. Quill-embroidery is also found less frequently than among the Arapaho. How far this greater poverty and inferiority of Gros Ventre decorative art are matters of some standing in time is not certain; but it seems probable that there was a difference between the two tribes in this respect, even when they first came into contact with the whites.

It is in accord with this difference that inquiry as to the symbolic or conventional significance of the decorative designs used by the Gros Ventre has been practically without result. While the failure of the Gros Ventre to render such interpretations is due perhaps in large measure to change of mode of life under the influence of civilization, yet it seems that in this respect too there must have been a temperamental difference between the Arapaho and Gros Ventre, even in earlier times; for the Arapaho preserve at least distinguished wrecks of their symbolism, ceremonies, and religious life, while among the Gros Ventre, who are in much less intimate contact with the Americans, these things have vanished, leaving often scarcely a trace, and rarely more than a memory.

Partly on account of comparative scarcity of material, and also by reason of greater artistic poverty, the decoration of the Gros Ventre does not present as many typical characteristics as that of the Arapaho, the Blackfeet, the

1: Kroeber E-5 (1901) 1908
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

Ute, and other tribes. It bears certain partial resemblances to Arapaho, Blackfoot, and Sioux decoration, and probably has been subject to their influences; but a clear determination of its special qualities is rather difficult. A consideration of some of the more prominent features of the bead and quill embroidery of the northern and western Plains tribes — especially the Cheyenne, Arapaho, Blackfeet, Sioux, Assiniboine, Ute, and Shoshone — will, however, bring out by comparison some of the leanings of the art of the Gros Ventre.

Fig. 1 (*a–n*) presents some of the more conspicuous decorative design elements among the Plains Indians.

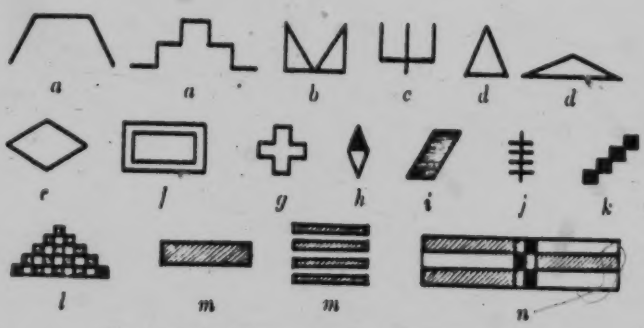


Fig. 1. Design-Elements, Bead and Quill Embroidery.

Design *a* shows two schematized forms of a type of pattern that varies greatly in detail, but is always characterized by a horizontal line or bar connecting two spreading arms. The whole figure is usually worked in lines or small areas; it scarcely ever shows any heavy masses. Like the other designs considered, it is frequently only an element in patterns. It is often paired, two figures being arranged back to back, connected by a line, a diamond, acute triangles, or other design elements. This design is conspicuous in Ute bead-work. It may be called the "spreading design."

Design *b* is familiar from the Arapaho specimens that have been illustrated.[1] It may be called the "forked design." Design *c*, the "pronged design," needs no comment. The type of design *d* is the isosceles triangle. Design *e* shows the rhombus; and *f*, a square or rectangle, usually with border and centre of different colors. Element *g* is a square cross; element *h*, a well-known design called "feather" by the Sioux. Elements *i*, *j*, the slanting bar and crossed line, need no comment. Design *k*, the

[1] See Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History, Vol. XVIII, Part III, p. 237.

1: Kroeber E-5. (1901) 1908
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

531
171

checker-diagonal, may be a single diagonal row of squares, as here shown, or several rows arranged in checker-pattern. In design *l* the fundamental idea seems to be not so much the effect of checkered color as of steps, analogous to that of design *k*, since the Blackfeet, the great exponents of this type, sometimes make this design in a solid mass, but rarely depart from the exterior step contour which distinguishes this form from the virtually straight-lined element *d*. Design *m* is a wide short stripe or long rectangle, either standing alone, or, if in contact with other stripes, decoratively separated from them by containing an internal design. Very similar in one respect is the solid stripe of one color, the unit-element of design *n*, but entirely different in being developed into a drawn-out checker-pattern by combination with analogous stripes of other colors, as in the soft bag bead-patterns of the Arapaho.

Other important design elements — such as, for instance, the simple right-angled triangle, the leaf-design of the Sioux — are not considered here, because they seem at present of less consequence for comparative determinations.

The spreading pattern (*a*) is most developed by the Ute. It is also common among the Arapaho and Shoshone. The Gros Ventre and Sioux use it less; the Blackfeet apparently not at all.

The forked pattern (*b*) is possibly most used by the Arapaho, but occurs among the Ute, Shoshone, and Sioux, and apparently less frequently among the Gros Ventre. The Blackfeet use this design as little as the last.

The pronged design (*c*) is a third that the Blackfeet lack. It finds its greatest development among the Sioux and Assiniboine. It is rare or lacking among the Gros Ventre.

The triangle designs, both acute and obtuse (*d*), are found among all the tribes under consideration, but seem to be most characteristic of the Sioux and Arapaho.

The diamond (*e*) is apparently most frequent among the Arapaho, the Ute, and the Sioux. The two latter use it chiefly as a centre for more elaborate designs; the Arapaho, also as a separate design.

The square or box design (*f*) is most characteristic of the Sioux and Assiniboine, from whom the Gros Ventre and Crow have perhaps chiefly derived it. With the Arapaho the nearest approach usually is the small solid square the hiiteni symbol.

The square cross (*g*) has a wide distribution. It is very frequent among the Sioux. The Arapaho also use it, but less often alone, and a maltese cross, or some variation, is the form more characteristic of them.

The feather design (*h*) is most typically Sioux and Assiniboine. It is not rare among the Gros Ventre. It occurs but little among the Ute, Sho-

1: Kroeber E-5 (1901) 1908
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

531
171

shone, and Blackfeet; and there is not a single example known from the Arapaho. It is frequent among the Crow, and occurs among the Comanche and probably other southern Plains tribes.

The slanting bar (*i*) is characteristic of the Ute and Shoshone, though it never appears with great frequency. It occurs also among the Arapaho as a small design in borders.

The crossed line (*j*) is uncommon as a distinct design unit. The Gros Ventre use it more or less.

The diagonal checker-row (*k*) is pre-eminently Shoshone and Blackfoot.

The triangular step or checker pattern (*l*), often doubled to form a rhombus, is the most distinctive design in Blackfoot ornamentation. Its use by the Gros Ventre is to be attributed to Blackfoot influence. It crops out occasionally elsewhere, as among the Arapaho, but is probably mostly a modification of the simple triangle (*d*), as it shows no tendency toward an interior checker-work pattern accompanying the steps on its outline.

The stripe (*m*), as the main design of a decorative area, is also distinctive of the Blackfeet. Several stripes are usually found parallel but separate, and are internally elaborated, as by transverse bars. A form occurs among the Gros Ventre as a border design. The general outline of this pattern is similar to that of the next design, the drawn-out checker, as its constituent stripes are three abreast, in contact, and succeed each other end to end; but there is a total dissimilarity of decorative effect from the checker-pattern, brought about by the division of the stripe elements into right-angled triangles of different colors; so that to the eye the contained triangles, rather than the including rectangles, stand out.

The lengthened checker-pattern (*n*) is regularly used for the top and sides of Arapaho soft bags. The Gros Ventre and other tribes employ it for the same purpose. The occurrence of this pattern is therefore determined functionally as much as tribally.

The following, accordingly, are the chief characteristics of the several tribes as regards the use of these decorative elements in bead-embroidery.

The Arapaho frequently use the forked design, the triangle, and diamond, also, in certain cases, the lengthened checker-pattern. The spreading and pronged designs, the cross, and the slanting bar, occur. The Sioux feather design, the Gros Ventre crossed-line design, and the three most characteristic Blackfoot designs, — the diagonal checker-row, the checker or step triangle, and the short or separate stripe, — are as good as wanting.

The southern tribes — such as the Kiowa, Comanche, Wichita, and to a certain extent the eastern Apache — have little solid bead-work: they employ simple and small designs as isolated figures to give variety to the

1: Kroeber E-5 (1901) 1908
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

narrow white stripes and edgings that characterize their embroidery. Among these subsidiary designs are the feather, the square, the cross, the triangle, and the slanting bar.

The Blackfeet use especially the three designs mentioned,— the diagonal checker-row, the checker or step triangle, and the stripe. A few others, such as the cross and the feather, occasionally occur: still others, such as the spreading and forked designs, are lacking.

The Ute and Shoshone designs are much alike. The Ute have especially developed and varied the spreading design; but simple forms of this are not rare among the Shoshone. Both tribes frequently use the forked design. The pronged design, the triangle, the slanting bar, and occasionally the diamond, are found among both. The Shoshone sometimes employ the diagonal checker-row Otherwise both tribes lack the typical Blackfoot designs, as well as the characteristically Sioux square, cross, and feather.

The Sioux and Assiniboine perhaps employ the square, cross, and feather no more frequently than the pronged, forked, and triangle designs, but they share the latter with other tribes, such as the Arapaho; whereas the square and feather, and perhaps the wide rectangular cross, are much less frequent among the other tribes. The Sioux, for the most part, lack the characteristic designs of the western tribes,— the diagonal checker and the stripe of the Blackfeet, the crossed line of the Gros Ventre, the spreading design of the Ute.

The Crow resemble both the Sioux and the Blackfeet. Typical designs are the feather, the square, the slanting bar, and the separate stripe.

The Gros Ventre use the forked design, the triangle, the box-square, the feather, the stripe, and the Arapaho pattern-stripe. The spreading design and the cross are not very common. Their form of the stripe has been mentioned as being usually a complex of colored right triangles. The diamond, the slanting bar, and the prongs are rare among them. The crossed line, which is practically absent among other tribes, must not be regarded as the characteristic Gros Ventre figure. It occurs only occasionally, almost always alternating with a step-triangle of the Blackfoot type.

As regards the color of the background of bead-work on which these designs are made, there are certain well-marked tribal habits. White is the most common color, and is at least frequent among every tribe. The Arapaho, however, are alone, among those here considered, in using it almost exclusively. The Cheyenne use much white, but show also a distinct leaning toward yellow. The Ute use various backgrounds, but white is the most frequent. Among the Shoshone a light grayish blue is much used besides white. The Sioux use various colors, but chiefly white, light blue, and yellow. The Crow use colored backgrounds considerably. The Blackfeet

1: Kroeber E-5 (1901) 1908
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

use much less white than any of the other tribes: their characteristic backgrounds are light red, yellow, and blue. The Kiowa, Comanche, Wichita, and Apache use white very predominatingly; but they show very few solid backgrounds of embroidery, their bead-work rarely consisting of more than stripes and borders. The Gros Ventre type is as indeterminate as their designs. It is only possible to say that besides various colors, such as red and light blue, white is considerably used.

It appears from this examination that the tribes under consideration form at least four groups as regards their bead-embroidery. The Blackfeet stand alone. The Sioux and Assiniboine form a second unit. The Arapaho, Ute, and Shoshone are a third; the more southerly tribes using outline embroidery, the fourth. Within their group the Arapaho show closer resemblance to the Ute than to the Shoshone. The Arapaho also have a good deal in common with the Sioux. The position of the Cheyenne is not certain: they certainly have partial resemblances to both Arapaho and Sioux, as their historical and ethnographical situation would lead one to infer. The Crow appear to be intermediate between the Blackfeet and the Sioux. The Gros Ventre show distinct approximations to all three of the northern groups, in the third, of course, especially to the Arapaho. Neither their Blackfoot nor their Sioux characteristics seem fundamental. Their present art shows little character of its own.

It is not probable that the groups here distinguished will stand without modification. With fuller knowledge regarding the Bannock, Crow, Cheyenne, Kiowa, Comanche, and the village and eastern and southern tribes, as well as those of the Columbia drainage, new and wider groups are almost certain to be determined. In this event the Arapaho, for instance, may appear more properly to belong with the Sioux than with the Shoshone; but their relations to the latter, and the similarities among the several tribes as they are here indicated, whether they prove finally to be fundamental or only subsidiary, are already quite clear.

The types of designs discussed occur more or less on all classes of objects decorated with embroidery, but are especially characteristic of larger areas of decoration, as on pouches, leggings, and tobacco-bags. Where there are special forms or limited areas, there is usually a more restricted type of ornamentation. Thus the quill-wound, close-set fringe of tobacco-bags lends itself best to heavy rectilinear designs, and squares and crosses are the result. Moccasins also furnish a special decorative field, in which the decoration is in great measure directly dependent on the form of the object; so that the distribution of the designs already discussed applies to moccasins only in part, and their ornamentation needs some separate consideration.

Some of the chief types of moccasin ornamentation are shown in Fig. 2

1: Kroeber E-5 (1901) 1908
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

(*a*–*o*). The first four forms have been discussed in connection with the description of Arapaho moccasins.[1] They may all be considered as consisting of one of two simple elements (the longitudinal dividing stripe and the sub-border), or of combinations and developments of these two elements. Subsidiary designs usual within these stripes and borders need not be considered here, as they do not affect the ornamentation of the moccasin as a whole.

171
531

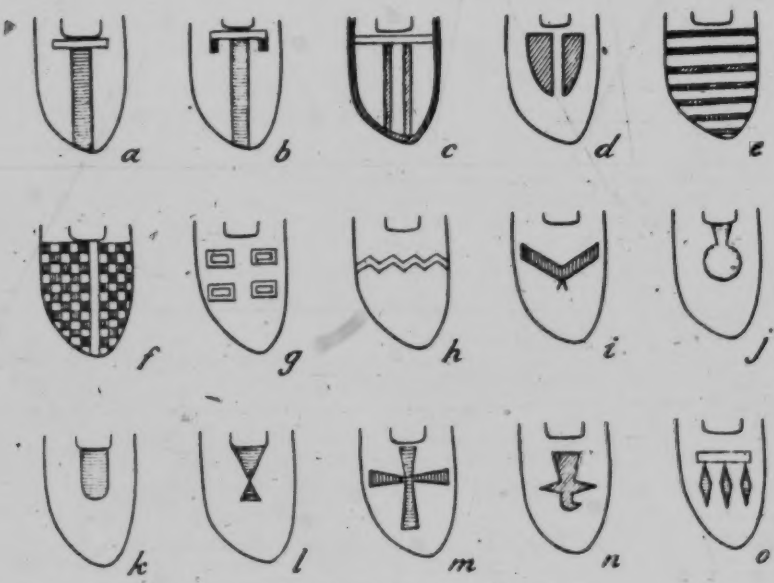


Fig. 2. Types of Designs on Moccasins.

The forms shown in *e* and *f* — the red-line and checker designs, the former usually executed in red quill-work, the latter in beads — may be regarded as forming a second class, in which the entire front of the moccasin is covered with one geometric pattern. All the remaining types can be grouped into a third class, consisting of forms having a figure in the middle of the decorable space on the front of the moccasin, this figure neither filling the entire space nor bearing any exact relation to its outline. Simple forms of some of the more frequent designs of this middle-figure class are here given, such as the four-squares (*g*), the transverse-zigzag (*h*), the crossing angle (*i*), the circle or head (*j*), the oval or U (*k*), the tent (*l*), the cross (*m*), the bird (*n*). A

[1] See Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History, Vol. XVIII, Part I, pp. 36–46.

1: Kroeber E-5 (1901) 1908
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

fifteenth type may be regarded as comprising the moccasins in which a single figure of very variable shape, but always comparatively small, occupies the centre of the otherwise unbroken front area. The U-figure is sometimes symmetrically angular. The cross can also be regarded as a development of the stripe; but, as its shape is almost invariably maltese and not rectangular, it is perhaps usually an independently developed figure.[1]

The Gros Ventre moccasins shown belong to types *d* (Fig. 3), *i* (Plate VIII, Fig. 3), and *j* (Plate VIII, Fig. 2). The moccasin in Plate VIII, Fig. 1, does not belong clearly to any of the typical forms.

Fig. 3 (50–1824 a). Moccasin. Length, 19 cm.

The stripe-border figures constitute a majority of Arapaho moccasin designs. They occur on Cheyenne moccasins in at least a considerable number of cases. All forms of these designs are found on Sioux and Assiniboine moccasins, but all together on only one among every three or four pieces. Among the Kiowa and Comanche, many moccasins depend for ornamentation on fringes and painting as much as on bead-work: the latter in such cases consists of narrow white edging, which usually follows the stripe and border designs. Among the Ute the proportion of stripe and border designs reaches a very high proportion, even the majority of solidly beaded moccasins being of this type. Of nearly twenty Ute moccasins in the Museum, all but two are of the stripe-border pattern.[2] The related and neighboring Shoshone, however, use this pattern rarely; and the same is true of the Gros Ventre. The Crow use the stripe considerably, but usually with some modification or addition (such as the feather-design element), and only rarely in combination with the border. The Blackfeet lack stripe-border designs almost entirely.

[1] Sioux and Arapaho moccasins with the three types of designs have been illustrated in Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History, Vol. XVIII. Examples of the stripe-border class of moccasins are shown in Plate I, 1–8; Fig. 5, b–f; Plate II, 3; Plate III, 1, 3, 4; Plate IV, 1; Fig. 6; Plates XXXVIII, 2, 4, 6, and XXXIX, 6; and Figs. 96 and 98. Moccasins of the second class are shown in Fig. 5, a; Plates III, 2, and XXXVIII, 1 (red-line pattern); Fig. 5, c; and Plate LIV, 2 (checker-pattern). Moccasins with the third type of ornamentation are shown as follows: Four-squares, Plates XXXVIII, 1, and LII, 2; transverse-zigzag, Plates III, 5, and XXXVIII, 5; angle-across, Plates II, 2, XXXIX, 2, and Fig. 97; round-head, Plates LII, 1, and LIV, 1; cross, Plates I, 8, and XXXIX, 5; bird, Plate XXXIX, 4; a small figure in the centre, Plates II, 4, 5, LII, 3, and LIV, 3.

[2] These two show the round-head and the angle-across designs, which reach great frequency among the Shoshone and Gros Ventre.

1; Kroeber E-5 (1901) 1908
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

171
531

Designs of the second class, the red-line and checker-patterns, are most frequent among the Sioux and Arapaho. There are a few Shoshone and Gros Ventre examples. The Blackfeet largely lack designs of this class.

Of the several designs of the third class, the squares and the transverse-zigzag (*g*, *h*) are not very common. They are frequent among the Sioux and Assiniboine, especially the former pattern, as is to be expected from the prevalence of the square-box design in the bead-work of these two tribes.

The angle-across design (*i*) and the round-head or circle design (*j*) are the most persistent of the designs of the third class, and the former especially has a wide distribution. The angle is found least among the Arapaho, Sioux, and Ute. Among these tribes it is usually also light or open in pattern, so as not to dominate the decoration. The Cheyenne have this pattern, and it is one of the few designs used by the Blackfeet that are untypical of them. Among both Shoshone and Gros Ventre it is common, and the Crow use it. It is interesting that two Ojibwa moccasins in the Museum also show this pattern. The round-head design occurs most frequently among tribes where the angle design is abundant, especially the Shoshone and Gros Ventre, less among the Sioux and Blackfeet. No Arapaho moccasin with this design has yet been seen. The symbolism of this figure varies. It is interpreted as a head, a spoon, feathers, or the sun.

The semi-oval or U-shaped figure (*k*) belongs more distinctly to the north and east than to the Plains. In certain regions it is the typical moccasin pattern. This figure is probably closely related to the simple stripe. It may be regarded as a wide stripe not reaching to the end of the moccasin, and rounded in front; or perhaps as an inner concentric area, slightly altered so as to be symmetrical, determined by the outline of the moccasin. In its occurrence among the Plains tribes under consideration, it does not, however, show any transitions to stripe and border patterns; and it accordingly belongs, so far as the Plains are concerned, in the class of designs bearing no specific relation to the shape of the moccasin. A few occurrences, chiefly among the Blackfeet, of angular forms having the appearance of being modifications of this U-shaped figure, can be included with it.

This design is the characteristic one of the Blackfeet, as noted by Dr. Clark Wissler.[1] It is also nearly confined to the Blackfeet within the Plains region. The Museum has a few scattering Sioux and Shoshone examples, and one from the Ojibwa; and the Field Columbian Museum exhibits a number of specimens from the Crow, though usually with the addition of the feather or pronged design element at the end of the U-figure. The U-form has not been met with among the Arapaho or the Gros Ventre, nor among

[1] Clark Wissler, Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History, Vol. XVIII, Part III, p. 270.

1: Kroeber E-5 (1901) 1908
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

the tribe in many ways nearest to the Arapaho in decorative art,— the Ute. That the Gros Ventre in their century of contact with the Blackfeet have not taken up the design is of interest, and is due, possibly, to its being at bottom of so different a decorative type that it is scarcely compatible with the established style of Gros Ventre decoration.

The tent figure (*l*) is infrequent. It has been found among the Sioux and Gros Ventre.

The cross (*m*) is most common on children's moccasins. It has so far been found on Sioux, Cheyenne, and Arapaho moccasins. It may prove to be most typically Sioux-Cheyenne.

The bird-figured moccasin (*n*) is infrequent. There are three examples in the Museum, all Sioux or Assiniboine. This design is one of the few — really the only one of those considered, besides the red-line pattern — that is usually executed in quills. It seems to go back to an old type independent of the stylistic influences of bead-work. A quill-embroidered bird moccasin is mentioned in an Arapaho myth.[1]

Type *o*, in which any small figure occupies the centre of the main decorative field on the moccasin, occurs chiefly among the Sioux, Cheyenne, and Arapaho. The figure may be the pronged design, the feather design, a triangle, a form of the forked design, or any other figure. A few Blackfoot moccasins can be included in this type, but as yet none from the Ute or Shoshonê.

The chief tribal characteristics of moccasin ornamentation can be summarized as follows:—

The Ute use stripe-border designs almost exclusively. The few exceptions found are of the round-head and angle-across types, and are due perhaps to Shoshone influence.

The Arapaho use stripe-border designs in the majority of cases. They show no special predilection for any of the other designs. They lack the round-head, and their angle-across figures are not well marked.

The Kiowa and Comanche, and other southern tribes, confine themselves practically to stripe-border designs; but the bead-work of their moccasins is used mainly for outlining or edging, and solid beading is little practised, so that a turn is given to their style which sets them apart from the other tribes considered.

Cheyenne moccasins are more or less similar to those of the Arapaho, but probably show some leaning toward Sioux types.

The Sioux and Assiniboine moccasins show every type of figure discussed. All forms of the stripe-border class occur, but with less frequency than among the Ute and Arapaho. The round-head and angle-across

[1] See Traditions of the Arapaho (Field Columbian Publication No. 81, p. 291).

1: Kroeber E-5 (1901) 1908
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

occur, but less than among other tribes, and the latter shows the light forms that characterize it among the Arapaho. On the whole, the Sioux type is apparently the most mixed and inclusive of those discussed.

Among the Shoshone the designs are more frequently the round-head and angle-across than any other. They use a number of other forms, such as the red-line, checker, and transverse-zigzag. Stripe-border patterns are little developed among them.

The Crow use designs of all classes, including the stripe, the round-head, the angle-across, the red-line, and the characteristic Blackfoot U-figure, and, as in other bead-work, resemble both Blackfeet and Sioux.

The Blackfeet show by far the most specialized type, not only in the dominance of the U-shaped design, but in the absence of stripe-border patterns, which all the other tribes agree in using at least to a certain extent.[1] The chief designs that have obtained a hold among them, other than the U-figure, are the round-head and angle-across.

The Gros Ventre use a comparatively small proportion of stripe-border patterns, perhaps about in the degree of the Sioux and Shoshone. They use the Sioux-Arapaho red-line figure. Of designs of the third class, the round-head and angle-across are the most frequent.

It is evident that the distribution of these moccasin designs is primarily dependent upon geography, not upon tribal relations. The southern tribes — the Kiowa, Comanche, Ute, and Arapaho — use mainly stripe and border patterns. The northern tribes — the Shoshone, Gros Ventre, Sioux and Assiniboine, and Blackfeet — use chiefly middle-figure designs. Of these figures the most strongly developed are the round-head and angle-across. Approximation of the Shoshone and Gros Ventre proportional frequencies of these designs is to be attributed to the fact that these two tribes are situated in the same northern region of the Plains, rather than to any special cultural relations between them. The Sioux and Arapaho show certain resemblances which may be due to direct relations or to transmission by the Cheyenne. The Blackfeet alone are tribally specialized, at least if regarded as part of the Plains group of tribes. They have been somewhat influenced by the northern Plains type of design, but have not affected it. Even the inter-influence of the Blackfeet and Gros Ventre upon each other has been insignificant. The Ojibwa are not altogether out of the influence of the Plains.

Nothing was learned about the typical tribal ornamentation of Gros

[1] A series of Blackfoot, Blood, and Piegan moccasins in the Museum of the Anthropological Department of the University of California, shows many more moccasins with stripe-border and middle-figure ornamentation than of the U-type, which is contrary to the ornamentation of those in the American Museum of Natural History, of which fully half, omitting the modern leaf-figured specimens, show the U-design; and contrary also to the statements of Dr. Wissler and of Clark (Indian Sign Language, p. 69).

1: Kroeber E-5 (1901) 1908
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

[171 531] Ventre robes. A child's quilled robe (Museum specimen 50–1751) agrees in general with the Arapaho style of ornamentation,[1] and is probably more or less representative of the Gros Ventre type. The style is similar to that of the quill-work on the Arapaho bag shown in the "Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History" (Vol. XVIII, Plate XVI). Seventeen red quilled lines pass across this robe. Four spaces, two on the lines and two at the ends, are green instead of red on each line. Originally, small green-dyed plumes seem to have been attached here also; these have now almost disappeared. At the four green spaces on the lowest line, pendants are attached. These each consist of a small loop wound with green quills, and of two thongs wound with red quills. At the ends of the thongs are small cylinders of tin from out of which issues a tuft of dyed horsehair. The seventeen embroidered lines do not stretch entirely across the robe to its edge, but occupy a rectangular area including the greater part of its somewhat irregular surface. Certain Arapaho robes are described as having been embroidered with seventeen such parallel lines, to which a group of three was added at the lower edge, where pendants were attached. An Arapaho child's robe in the Museum collections is almost identical with this in style. The ornamental spaces on the red quilled lines differ somewhat, and there are eighteen instead of seventeen lines; but the general construction and appearance are strikingly similar, even to the pendant attachments. Dr. Clark Wissler's illustration[2] of a small Sioux robe serves to give a very close idea of the present piece. Like the Arapaho robe, this Sioux one has eighteen lines. Dr. Wissler makes the point that among the Sioux such red-line embroidered robes were distinctive of women and girls; but among the Arapaho the typical robe of men is said to have been embroidered with yellow or white lines. The Field Columbian Museum has on exhibition Cree, Crow, and Sioux children's robes ornamented with from seventeen to twenty lines and with hoof pendants at the bottom.

[178 342 531 171] The Gros Ventre have now entirely abandoned the use of embroidered tent-ornaments such as are still quite common among the Arapaho. A single dilapidated partial specimen was obtained, shown in Fig. 4. This is very similar to the Arapaho tent-ornaments.[3] The full set consisted of a larger, round quill-embroidered piece of skin sewed to the back of the top of a tent and called kaĭ^{n}biit^{an} ("round embroidery"), four similar but smaller ornaments put on the sides of the tent lower down, and pendants attached to the upper flaps or ears of the tent. The circular embroidered ornaments had buffalo-tails or strips of buffalo-fur, and quill-wound pendant thongs with hoofs and loops at their ends, hanging from the middle.

[1] Compare Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History, Vol. XVIII, Part I, pp. 29, 33, 65.
[2] Ibid., Vol. XVIII, Part III, Fig. 81.
[3] Ibid., Vol. XVIII, Part I, pp. 61–63.

1: Kroeber E-5 (1901) 1908
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

171
531
342

Of the pieces illustrated, the larger contains four black concentric circles interrupted by four black-bordered sectors. Quills, not plant fibres, have been used for this black embroidery. The lighter portions of the embroidery adjacent to the black circles seem to have been originally yellow, as the underlying protected quills are of this color, while those on the surface are

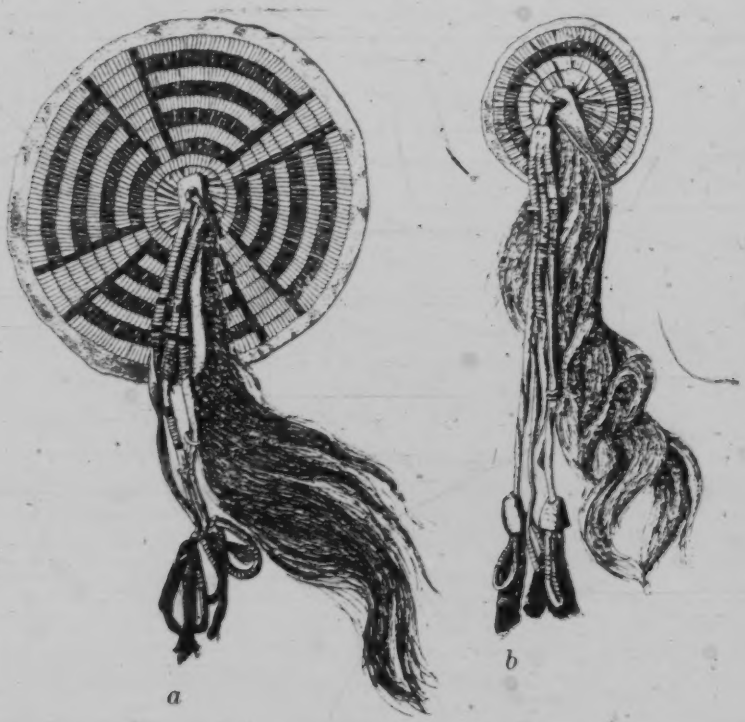


Fig. 4 (50-1829 a, b). Tent-ornaments. Diameters, 17 cm., 8 cm.

weathered white. The quills within the sectors, however, appear to have been always white. The pendants, three in number, are very much destroyed; it is evident, however, that they were wound with orange-yellow, red, white, and black quills in exactly the pattern used by the Arapaho.[1] The loops at the ends of the pendants contained red, yellow, and black quills.

[1] For description and illustration of pattern, see Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History, Vol. XVIII, Part I, pp. 35, 65, Figs. 12, 13.

1: Kroeber E-5 (1901) 1908
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

171
342
531

and probably white also. The pendants on the smaller ornament are identical, and still show the hoofs at their ends. It thus appears that, whereas the main ornament has only the three colors, namely, white, yellow, and black, — found also in an Arapaho ornament [1] with which it is virtually identical, — yet the peculiar line-pattern combination of red, yellow, white, and black, characteristic of the Arapaho "tribal" style of quill embroidery, also occurs in this Gros Ventre set of ornaments.

171
415
531

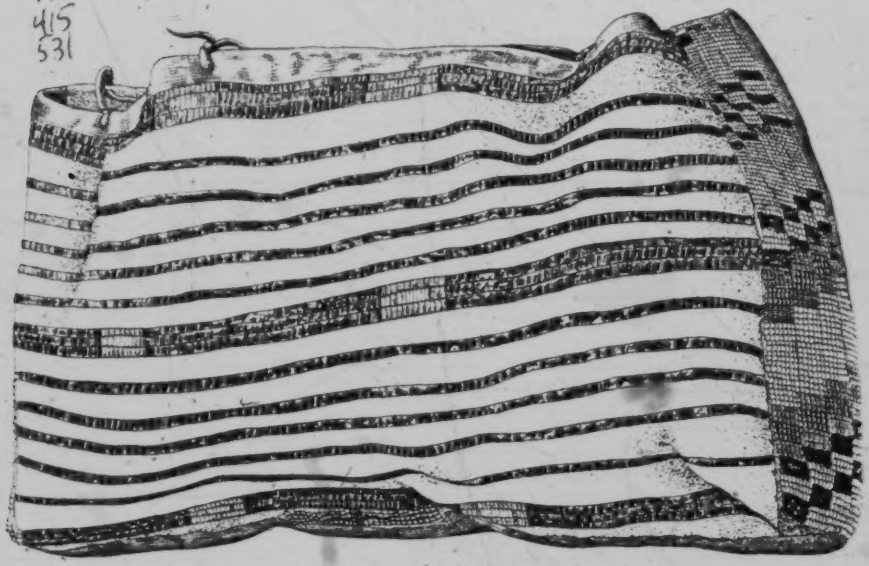


Fig. 5 (50-1738). Soft-skin Bag. Length, 21 cm.

Bags of soft skin, used chiefly for keeping and transporting clothing and small household articles, are made by the Gros Ventre very much as by the Arapaho and other Plains tribes. The ornamentation is also of the same character, consisting of red quill-embroidered lines across the front of the bag, and a pattern of bead-work (generally of alternately colored bars with cross spaces, augmented by tin and horsehair or other pendants) along the top and two side edges of the bag. This style has been illustrated for the Arapaho.[2] About half the Gros Ventre bags show the same ornamentation,

[1] Compare Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History, Vol. XVIII, Part I, p. 60, Fig. 9, a.
[2] Ibid., Vol. XVIII, Plate XVI.

1: Kroeber E-5 (1901) 1908
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

varied only in inessential details. The remainder introduce a characteristic variation, though the fundamental type of decoration is the same. Such a bag is shown in Fig. 5. The red quilled lines are present, but are in part grouped in threes, so as to form stripes of three times the width of the lines. In consequence of this, the small differently colored spaces on the lines become rectangles, which usually assume the box form shown in the figure,

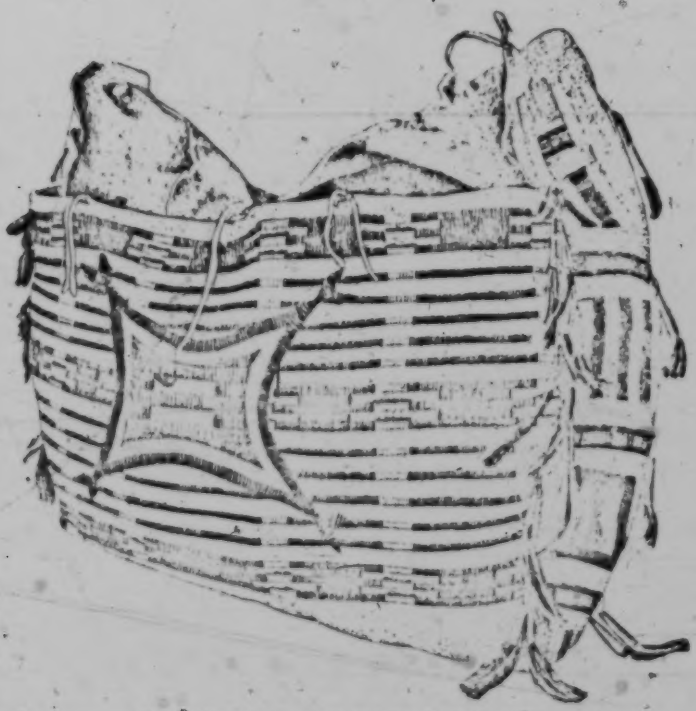


Fig. 6 (50-4299). Soft-skin Bag. Length, 35 cm.

and more characteristic of Sioux than of Arapaho ornamentation. The number of single lines between the compound stripes varies; in some specimens it is only two or three. Sometimes the box design of the stripes is represented on the lines by an end-bordered bar, as is customary on the bags with lines only, and as appears in the bag in Fig. 6. Even the small down-feathers of the line-embroidered bags may be present on the wider stripes of this variant Gros Ventre type. The bead-work along the two ends of the bag shown in Fig. 5 is very different from that on Arapaho

1: Kroeber E-5 (1901) 1908
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

bags, recalling the typical checker and diagonal step design of Blackfoot beading. This type is, however, unusual among the Gros Ventre.

The fine bag shown in Fig. 6, collected by Dr. Clark Wissler, presents unusual quill-embroidery on its front, suggestive perhaps of Sioux influence or origin; but the bead-work on its cover and sides, and the attached tin and horsehair ornaments, are typically Arapaho, except for the fact that this tribe would be very unlikely to make any pattern without at least some proportion of white. The transverse lines of quill-work on this bag might be regarded as nothing but a further five-line development of the three-line grouping illustrated by the last figure, with an alternating bar-pattern for its chief ornamentation instead of the box figure, which in element is identical. The central figure, however, is the typical Sioux spider-web pattern described by Dr. Clark Wissler,[1] and so far without any parallel among either Arapaho or Gros Ventre, or any approach nearer than that shown in an instance of blanket painting.[2] The two parallel bars in the centre of this concave quadrilateral figure, and the diamond-shaped feather symbols at its corners, are also typically Siouan: only the last-named element is occasionally used by the Gros Ventre.

Buffalo paunches, the mouth being drawn up by a string, like a sack, were used for carrying and holding water, a paunchful being hung up in the tent. If buffalo had been killed, and it was desired to transport the meat across the Missouri, the paunches were filled with meat, blown up, tied together at the mouth, and floated. The well-known circular skin boats of the Missouri tribes were also used by the Gros Ventre for transporting clothing and property across streams.

Fig. 7 shows an ornamented food-bag of bladder. At the top is a strip of skin covered with red quill-embroidery, with square star designs in blue and white. From this strip of skin hangs a red quill-wound fringe. The thong handle of the bag is partly quilled, and has quilled thong pendants hanging from it. At the bottom of the bag a round piece of skin, covered with green-and-white quartered bead-work, is sewed on.

The navel-amulets of the Gros Ventre, which resemble those of the Arapaho in their use, are in form of a somewhat different type, as they approach more nearly to an animal's shape. They usually represent çaniwa", the "horned toad" (southern Arapaho, säniwa", a "lizard"), or sometimes a person. Their general shape is, as everywhere on the Plains, a rhomboid on end. To this the Gros Ventre add at the upper end a small rhomboid, forming the head of the animal represented. This augmented shape has not been found among the Arapaho, with whom the typical form

[1] See Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History, Vol. XVIII, Part III, p. 248.
[2] Ibid., Vol. XIII, p. 85, Fig. 138.

1: Kroeber E-5 (1901) 1908
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

is a narrow simple rhomboid.[1] The Blackfeet and Sioux make figures resembling those of the Gros Ventre, but carry the realism farther. The Sioux most frequently represent an entire animal with head, legs, and tail, much like Fig. 1 in Plate VIII of Vol. XVIII of the "Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History," but broader, in the shape of a turtle.[2] The Arapaho, Gros Ventre, and Blackfeet use ornamented strings hanging from the corners of the rhomboid to represent limbs and tail. The Blackfeet make realistic snake amulets for their boys, and more conventional turtle or lizard-like figures, resembling those of the Gros Ventre, for their girls.

Among the Assiniboine, and west of the Rockies among the Bannock and Ute, a reduced form of navel-amulets occurs, though perhaps it is not the only one used. It is usually small and flat, with the acute angles of the rhomboid cut off transversely, rendering the whole piece hexagonal rather than quadrilateral. Sometimes the entire edges are fringed. The relative distribution of this small form and of the other forms is not yet clear. A Shoshone amulet in the Museum is a pointed rhomboid resembling the Arapaho type, even to being quartered in its bead-ornamentation. A Kiowa specimen in the Anthropological Museum of the University of California is a plain rhombus, of Arapaho type, except in being smaller and more nearly square. The following distribution of types is at least partly correct: realistic, Sioux, Blackfoot, occasionally Arapaho; semi-realistic, Blackfoot, Gros Ventre; conventional rhomboid, Arapaho, Kiowa, Shoshone; reduced hexagonal, Assiniboine, Ute, Bannock, and perhaps Shoshone.

Fig. 7 (50-1801). Ornamented Food-bag of Bladder. Length, 20 cm.

On Plate IX are shown three Gros Ventre navel-amulets. Fig. 3 was said to represent a horned toad, and Fig. 2, a person. It will be seen that the mouth in the former is near the end of the head; in the latter, in the lower part of the face. Both these specimens have quilled or beaded appendages at the two side-corners and at the lower end. Fig. 1 has a distinct

[1] See Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History, Vol. XVIII, Part I, Plate VIII.
[2] Ibid., Vol. XVIII, Part III, p. 242, Fig. 76.

1: Kroeber E-5 (1901) 1908
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

tail as well as head, a cross instead of an attempt at representative ornamentation in the bead-work on the head, and unornamented yellowed thongs as sole attachments. Another specimen (Museum No. 50–4278), not figured, is much smaller than any of the others. It resembles Fig. 3 of Plate IX in that the bead-work on its upper surface is quartered; and that there is a distinct attempt to represent eyes in the head. The attachments are short unpainted thongs with tin cones at their ends.

Of these four pieces, Fig. 1 of Plate IX and Museum No. 50–4278 are unbeaded on the lower side; Fig. 3 of Plate IX has a few curvilinear leaf-ornaments on the lower side; and Fig. 2 of Plate IX is entirely beaded on both sides, showing on the reverse a simple quartering in blue and yellow without attempted representation of animal form. It thus appears that all the pieces are ornamented with bead-work in quartering, a design found also among the Arapaho, although transverse or diagonal parallel lines, or a crossed longitudinal line, are more common among them. The specimen figured

Fig. 8. Triangular Designs on Parfleches and Bags.

in Fig. 1 of Plate IX is quartered asymmetrically. The greater flatness of Fig. 3, same plate, is due to the contents of the amulet-pouch having been removed, no doubt for preservation.

The principal form of Gros Ventre decorative art other than embroidery is painting, mainly on skin and rawhide. As to the symbolism of this painting, as little was learned as of the symbolism of embroidered designs. The style of decoration itself, however, offers some points of interest when compared with the forms of decoration typical of other Plains tribes.

Outside of robe-painting, tent-painting, and semi-realistic painting of a more directly symbolic or religious nature, the principal form of this branch of Plains decorative art is the painting of parfleches and rawhide bags. In these the decorative field is invariably rectangular, usually nearly square. Within this rectangular field, which may be merely outlined or may be heavily bordered, three principal types of design elements and combinations of elements can be distinguished. These can be called respectively the "triangular," the "square-and-triangular," and the "square."

The triangular type of design is by far the most common, taking the Plains as a whole, and among some tribes is used almost exclusively. The

1: Kroeber E-5 (1901) 1908
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

531
171

fundamental element of this form may be taken to be the right-angled triangle with one side considerably longer than the other. Two such triangles placed together give either a long and flat or a narrow and high isosceles triangle. Two such isosceles triangles placed base to base give a rhombus or diamond. From these elements, — the right-angled triangle, the isosceles triangle, and the diamond, — the designs of this first form are built up. Some of the most frequent combinations are shown in Fig. 8 (*a–j*). It is common to find combinations of an isosceles triangle flanked by two right-angled triangles (*e*, *f*), this pattern being disposed along the inside of the longer edges of the rectangular decorative field; while in the middle there will be either one or two, or sometimes three, figures, each of which is the double of those at the edges, consisting, accordingly, of a diamond flanked by two isosceles triangles (*g*, *h*). If there are half-patterns on the side, they usually agree with the full patterns in the middle. Sometimes diamonds are lacking, and two isosceles triangles form either a long rhomboid (*d*), or an

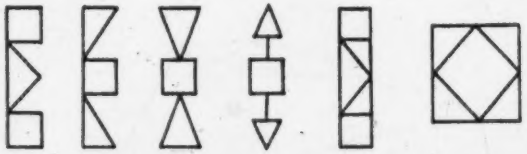


Fig. 9. Square-and-triangular Designs on Parfleches and Bags.

hourglass-shaped figure (*c*), according as their bases or apices are in contact. In the same way, two rectangular triangles are combined along the edges of the decorative field (*a*, *b*). Diamonds and isosceles triangles are sometimes bisected, and occasionally the two halves are colored differently, thus emphasizing the inherent relation of these figures to right-angled triangles.

There are many subsidiary features of ornamentation accompanying those here outlined, such as borders of different colors, small triangles at the base or at the apex of isosceles triangles, reduced figures within designs, and so on. In essence, however, this first or triangular type of parfleche paintings can be considered as being built up out of right-angled triangles and combinations of right-angled triangles.

The second, or square-and-triangular, type is less common. It uses triangles much as does the first type, except that in part it replaces them by rectangles, usually squares. These squares may be placed along the edges of the decorative field, especially in the corners or in the middle. When in the middle of the field, they are of considerable size, and contain other

1: Kroeber E-5 (1901) 1908
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

531
171

figures, especially diamonds. Various characteristic forms of this type are shown in Fig. 9 (*a–f*). It will be seen that full forms, such as a square with two adjacent isosceles triangles directed toward it (*c*), are paralleled by half-forms, such as a rectangle flanked by two right-angled triangles with their apices in contact with it (*b*). A variation of this latter form may be regarded as an inversion, the two right-angled triangles being placed together in the middle to form an isosceles triangle, and this being flanked by two squares (*a*). Not infrequently this form is further developed by being combined into a continuous stripe (*e*); the ends of this stripe being squares, and the middle portion three or more triangles distinguished by color. When full figures consist of a square flanked by two triangles, with their bases instead of their apices directed toward it, these triangles are separated from the square, but the decorative unity of the pattern is retained by means of connecting lines (*d*). No perfect illustrations of this square-and-triangular type have been published in the "Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History," either from among Arapaho or Sioux specimens, but an approximation is shown there in Plate XVIII, Fig. 2, of Vol. XVIII. Plate XIX, Fig. 3, of the same volume, while containing scarcely any square elements, also bears some general resemblance to designs of this type. Nearly all the illustrations of rawhide painting in that volume belong to the first type, the few exceptions belonging to the third.

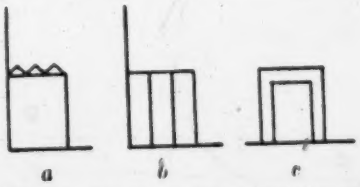


Fig. 10. Square Designs on Parfleches and Bags.

The third, or square, type of parfleche ornamentation either lacks triangular design elements altogether, or employs them as subsidiary to, or at least distinct from, the square design elements. Most frequently this type of design shows squares in the corners. It is frequently elaborated by rows of small triangles within, or adjacent to, the squares. Elementary forms are indicated in Fig. 10 (*a–c*). This is not a common type of design among any tribe, but appears to be found to some extent among all, or nearly all, Plains tribes. Two instances of its most developed form are shown in the "Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History," in Vol. XVIII, Plate XVIII, Fig. 5, and Plate XIX, Fig. 5; while less distinctive forms are given in Fig. 34 of the same volume. Among the Arapaho there is some tendency to interpret this type of design as the bear-foot, especially when combined with rows of pointed triangles. A similar interpretation has been obtained among the Bannock. There are, of course, easy and natural

1: Kroeber E-5 (1901) 1908
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

531
171

transitions from this square type of design to the preceding, or square-and-triangular type. But there seems to be an essential difference between the two types in general character and decorative purpose; and this is made the more probable by the fact that the entirely square type is less frequent among the tribes that have developed patterns of the second, or square-and-triangular, type, than among the tribes that lack this second type. The difference between the two types is not so much in their individual design elements as in the disposition of these in the decorative field.

The tribal distribution of these three types is as follows. The first, or triangular, type is found among all tribes from which material is available. It is used, nearly to the exclusion of other types, by the Arapaho, the Sioux, and probably the Cheyenne and the Kootenay; and it predominates among all other tribes except the Shoshone. The second, or square-and-triangular, type reaches its greatest known development among the Shoshone. It is more or less employed by the Ute, and to some extent by the Blackfeet and Sahaptin. It will be seen that the Gros Ventre also employ this form. The third, or entirely square, type appears to occur somewhat sporadically among almost all tribes.

The rawhide painting of the Arapaho, besides employing design elements of the triangular type almost exclusively, is characterized by a certain lightness and openness of patterns, due to the comparatively large amount of background left white and unpainted. The patterns of right-angled and isosceles triangles and diamonds are usually narrow and long. The patterns in the middle of the field are sometimes separated from one another and from those along the edges by stripes; and in other cases full designs in the middle are split into two half-designs by such stripes. The general pattern arrangement is thus approximately one of stripes or longitudinal figures, usually from three to five in number, and consisting in element of right-angled triangles. The half-designs at the edge of the decorative field are usually directly or inversely symmetrical with those in the middle. Characteristic subsidiary features are rows of black dots, especially within white stripes, rows of small triangles at the bases of acute triangles, small black inverted single triangles at the apices of obtuse isosceles triangles, and small figures enclosed in larger design elements. These enclosed figures are usually triangles and pentagons respectively in acute and obtuse isosceles triangles. The outlines of Arapaho parfleche paintings are generally made in narrow lines of a faint black or brown. There is often some difference in pattern between stitched rawhide bags and folded-parfleches; the former showing a greater tendency toward a heavy border or frame, consisting usually of a double stripe filled in with alternating triangles of two colors. The backs of bags, and occasionally of parfleches, may be striped across.

1: Kroeber E-5 (1901) 1908
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

531
171

Sioux ornamentation of rawhide is more difficult to characterize than Arapaho, although the Museum contains a good representation of specimens, a number of which have been figured.[1] The design elements of the Sioux are as preponderatingly of the first, or triangular, type as among the Arapaho. Their disposition and their relation to the decorative field are, however, less open, and it is not uncommon to find Sioux bags which are covered so completely with painting that no white background remains within the decorative field, or only so little that it becomes equivalent in function to one of the colors used. Many Sioux parfleches are heavily bordered, the wide outside design frame being as common on them as it is rare in Arapaho parfleches. Not infrequently the decorative field is divided longitudinally by a heavy stripe similar to those which frame the field. A subsidiary feature that is characteristic is the occurrence of large diamonds containing one or two longitudinal bars. Most of the typical subsidiary features of the Arapaho are either wanting or are much less common. The Arapaho parfleche design shown in the "Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History" (Vol. XVIII, Plate xx, Fig. 5) is typically Sioux. The one in Fig. 3 of the same plate has Sioux reminiscences. On the whole, the differences between the styles of the two tribes are not very great.

There is too little Cheyenne parfleche material available to allow a characterization; but it appears in general that the painting is similar to that of the Arapaho and Sioux, as is to be expected.

With the Shoshone[2] a new style of rawhide painting is encountered, characterized by a predominance of designs of the second, or square-and-triangular type. There are many triangular designs and design combinations, but the square-and-triangular type is so strongly impressed on Shoshone art that there are very few parfleches that do not show at least some rectangular forms. Very common is a broad stripe consisting of triangles in its middle portion and ending off in squares (Fig. 9, *e*). These squares fill the corners of the decorative field. Such border-stripes may be found occurring transversely as well as longitudinally, in which case, by forming a heavy frame, they leave a rectangular area considerably smaller than the decorative field. This area, in turn, contains designs — usually a diamond or two half-diamonds, that is to say, isosceles triangles — set point to point into an hourglass figure. In other cases the central rectangular area is more prominently developed than the border-stripes. It is in such cases that types result resembling the sporadic Arapaho forms mentioned.[3] Al-

[1] See Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History, Vol. XVIII, Part III, Figs. 78, 82, 87 94.
[2] The Shoshone parfleches in the Museum are from Wind River and Fort Hall Reservations.
[3] See Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History, Vol. XVIII, Part I, Plate XVIII, Fig. 2.

1: Kroeber E-5 (1901) 1908
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

531
171

gether it may be said that there is scarcely a Shoshone parfleche which does not contain either the central rectangle, squares in the corners of the decorative field in combination with triangles, or the heavy square-containing border-stripe. The open border-figures of the Arapaho, consisting of an obtuse isosceles triangle with or without flanking right-angled triangles, are scarcely ever found. The Shoshone show a fondness, as compared with the Arapaho, for heavy black or dark-blue outlines for their figures. They lack the Arapaho rows of black dots and small black apex triangles, but show the row of small acute triangles in several instances.

Ute[1] parfleche painting shows some approximation to that of the Shoshone in using the square-and-triangular patterns, but also has distinct resemblances to Arapaho. It is more open than Shoshone painting, and shows some tendency towards the Arapaho longitudinal arrangement. The square-and-triangular type of design is also much less common than among the Shoshone. Ute painting differs even more than does Arapaho from both Sioux and Shoshone in lacking the heavy frame to the decorative field found among these two tribes. In fact there are a number of Ute parfleches in the Museum that show a total absence of any framing: even the half-designs along the border, which among the Arapaho duplicate the full designs in the middle, are omitted. This is practically never done by the Arapaho. It may be estimated that a third of all Ute parfleches lack a border of any kind entirely, and that in another third only the two longitudinal sides of the decorative field are partially edged by isolated figures. A special form of Ute design, which needs no comment other than that it is quite evidently a form of the square-and-triangular type, is shown in Fig. 3 of Plate X. Although an isolated occurrence, it is not uncharacteristic, as is shown by certain approximations in parfleches and by similar forms in medicine-cases (Fig. 13). In its subsidiary features, Ute parfleche-painting resembles Arapaho rather surprisingly; the small apex triangle, the row of small basal triangles, and the small triangle, rectangle, or pentagon enclosed in a larger triangle, all being found.

Half a dozen parfleches and several bags obtained among the Bannock of Fort Hall Reservation give some idea of the position of this tribe in relation to the others. The second, or square-and-triangular, type of design elements is found, but is not so prominent as among the Shoshone. There is a well-marked tendency toward large diamonds occupying the greater part of the central area, or at least the entire length, of the decorative field. As among the Shoshone, the decorative area is well filled with designs; but it cannot be said to be crowded, because the figures are generally large and

[1] Uintah and Uncompahgre Reservations.

1: Kroeber E-5 (1901) 1908
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

53
171

simple. While there is considerable general resemblance to Shoshone designs, elements of the specifically triangular type much outweigh those of the square-and-triangular type.

The Blackfoot style of painting is rather distinctive. The elements are very predominatingly of the purely triangular type; but the decorative field as a whole is quite different from that of the Arapaho and Sioux. It is more open than the latter, and lacks the general longitudinal disposition of figures of the former. There is very frequently a light border containing triangles or diagonal bars; or the design as a whole may be regarded as consisting of a design (of acute isosceles triangles and diamonds) within a central square area around which is placed a light border containing triangles. When this frame and defined central square area are absent, there are usually no bordering figures such as characterize the Arapaho style. It is not uncommon for a figure or two figures to stand free, as it were, in the decorative field. In this respect there is a leaning toward the Ute style. The resemblances that there are to Shoshone are not so much in the occurrence of the square-and-triangular designs, for these are not numerous, as in the tendency to group smaller designs within a central square. Most of the figures employed by the Blackfeet are small relatively to the decorative field, thus differing from those of the Shoshone, Ute, and Bannock. The [illegible]iary decorative features characteristic of the Arapaho are w[illegible]e for occasional rows of small triangles. A considerable pro[illegible] specimens, approximately one-half, show V-shaped designs on [illegible] the parfleche. This characteristic is also found among the Koo[illegible]shapting, but (with the exception of sporadic cases from the As[illegible]ux, Gros Ventre, and Ute) is not known to occur among other [illegible]inting on the sides of parfleches must therefore be considered[illegible]estern, and as more characteristic of the Pacific than of the [illegible]nage in the Plains culture.

Two Blackfoot bags collected by Dr. Clark Wissler are shown in Plate x, Figs. 5 and 6. These are perhaps extreme cases of the typical Blackfoot tendency toward an open frame and a large central square area.

Half a dozen Kootenay parfleches and painted bags collected by the author in 1900 in northern Idaho are very uniform in style of ornamentation. They show no trace of the typical Shoshone square-and-triangular type of design, but use triangular elements exclusively. A simple but typical design is shown in Plate x, Fig. 4. It will be seen that in the general pattern there is nothing that might not well be Arapaho. Two other specimens show fundamentally the same pattern. Two others are longitudinally bisected by a wide stripe, the two resulting rectangles being internally bordered along their long sides with isosceles or right-angled triangles. Another

1: Kroeber E-5 (1901) 1908
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

specimen has two hourglass-shaped figures stretched longitudinally across the field; between these is a diamond, and on each side there are two isosceles triangles. The figures in all the specimens show the convex roundness visible in the one chosen for illustration, so that actually triangles often approach more nearly to being segments of circles than polygons. 531 171

A special subsidiary characteristic of Kootenay painting is the development of rows of small black triangles set upon the outer edges of the main figures. These were said by the Kootenay to represent the trees which, in their heavily timbered and hilly country, everywhere form the limit of vision. As just mentioned, the Kootenay also frequently use side designs on their parfleches.

A valuable collection of parfleches and some bags was made for the Museum by Dr. L. Farrand among the Salishan. Considering that the habitat of these people is in Oregon, the general similarity of their art, as of most sides of their material culture, to that of the Plains Indians of for instance Dakota and Kansas, is very remarkable. In their rawhide painting the Salishan show a somewhat greater tendency to use designs of the square-and-triangular type than do the Kootenay, although such designs are neither very frequent nor very prominent among them. It is probable that the occurrence of this type of design among the Salishan is due to direct contact with Shoshoneans, principally of Idaho. It is interesting to observe that the wide border-stripe consisting of triangles with squares at the ends, which is so typical of the Shoshone, is found among the Salishan as frequently in the form of a transverse end-stripe as it is as a longitudinal border. Central squares of no great size occur several times in combination with adjacent acute isosceles triangles. Wide stripes, sometimes longitudinal and sometimes transverse, are not uncommon. When longitudinal, they occur also in the middle of the decorative field. In this case the two resulting halves of the decorative area are usually occupied mainly by diamonds or hourglass figures. There is very little tendency toward a distinct enclosing frame, as among the Sioux and Blackfeet. There are also very few cases of a repetition, along the longitudinal borders, of the designs in the middle, such as is so characteristic of the Arapaho; but there are cases even of this. Altogether there is hardly any characteristic tribal type which has not some representation among the Salishan. The figures are generally large. They are, however, so placed that the white background is comparatively prominent; and the close effect found, for instance, in most Bannock parfleches, where large design elements are also favorites, is wanting. The outlines of the figures are usually marked quite heavily in black or dark blue, much as among the Shoshone and Bannock. About half the parfleches have paintings on the side, similar to those of the Blackfeet and

1: Kroeber E-5 (1901) 1908
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

531
171

Kootenay. The typical form of these side-paintings seems to be a row of angles or V's with the apices directed upward; that is to say, more or less inward as the flattened parfleche is viewed from above. Usually each angle or V contains one or two smaller parallel ones. In a few cases among the Sahaptin, the V-shaped angles are replaced by square U-shaped figures or by diagonal stripes.

The characteristics of Gros Ventre rawhide painting, in spite of some fifteen pieces in the Museum, are difficult to define. There is certainly very little stylistic tendency peculiar to the tribe. A considerable proportion both of parfleches and bags resembles typical Arapaho ones, though on the whole with the difference that there is a less marked longitudinal arrangement of figures, and not quite so much openness of the decorative field. On the other hand, there is visible some tendency toward the use of the Shoshone square-and-triangular type of design, though with an inclination rather toward a central square with acute triangles directed toward it, such as is found among the Ute and Blackfeet, than toward the heavy diamond-filled central square and the square-and-triangular stripe of the Shoshone.

Of specimens which have more or less close Arapaho analogues, there may be mentioned Fig. 5 of Plate XI[1] and specimens Museum Nos. 50–1734,[2] 50–1929 and 50–1776,[3] and 50–1830.[4] A specimen (Museum No. 50–4327) collected by Dr. Clark Wissler may be described as approximately the equivalent of double that part of an Arapaho design which appears on the front of the bag.[5]

Several forms that are quite distinct from anything found among the Arapaho are illustrated in Plate XI. The design shown in Fig. 1 consists in essence of four squares, each containing two inturned obtuse triangles, and is without close parallel among any of the tribes from which there is material. Fig. 2 suggests the entirely-painted-over Sioux decorative field divided longitudinally by a wide stripe which is flanked by two long diamonds. It will be seen, however, that transverse divisions give a marked square effect to this pattern as a whole. Fig. 3 is a parfleche collected by Dr. Clark Wissler. It is in typical Shoshone style, showing the square-ended wide stripes and the general square effect of the central portion of the decorative field. Fig. 4 was also collected by Dr. Wissler, and is in many respects unique. Figs. 5 and 6 are two designs of the square-and-triangular type, but rather of the form used by the Ute than that typical of

[1] Compare Bulletin American Museum of Natural History, Vol. XVIII, Part I, Plate XXII, Fig. 2.
[2] Ibid., Vol. XVIII, Part I, Plate XX, Fig. 5.
[3] Ibid., Vol. XVIII, Part I, Plate XVIII, Figs. 3 and 4.
[4] Ibid., Vol. XVIII, Part I, Fig. 36.
[5] Ibid., Vol. XVIII, Part I, Fig. 33.

1: Kroeber E-5 (1901) 1908
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

the Shoshone. Specimen Museum No. 50-1741 (not shown in the plate) is similar to Fig. 6, but contains two central figures instead of one, and lacks the symmetrical half-designs along the edges. 531 171

A curious design on a bag is shown in Fig. 11. This, while much specialized, seems to show Blackfoot influence.

While these Gros Ventre pieces show resemblances here and there to the work of a number of tribes, yet they seem distinctly impressed with the tendencies of none. Perhaps fundamentally Gros Ventre rawhide painting is most similar to that of the Arapaho; but there are many departures from the Arapaho type, without corresponding development of any characteristically tribal style. There are some approaches to the art of both the Sioux and the Blackfeet, the two principal large tribes to the east and west; but these resemblances are not very marked. It is not unlikely that there may have been closer correspondences with the Crow. While the Blackfeet, according to Dr. Clark Wissler,[1] called their regular parfleche paintings "Gros Ventre painting," it is quite evident that the influence suggested by this name has actually had very little to do with the origin and development of the present style of Blackfoot painting. Not only do the Blackfeet appear to be in possession of a more distinctive style of rawhide painting than the Gros Ventre, but it is generally evident that any inter-influence of the two tribes on each other in respect to rawhide ornamentation has been inconsiderable.

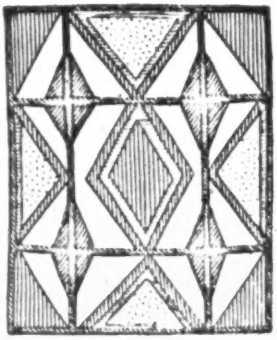


Fig. 11 (50-1805). Design on Bag. Length, 29 cm.

The cylindrical rawhide cases used by most Plains tribes, generally for holding medicine, are painted, on the whole, in styles resembling those of parfleches; but as the shape of the object and the portion of the decorative field visible at one time are quite different from those of parfleches, there are certain differences of design. At least four types of designs can be made out on medicine-cases; and, as more material becomes available for study, the tribal distribution of these, and especially the transition forms between the pure types, promise to be interesting. [415]

These four types, which have already been partly described in connection with the Arapaho,[2] are shown in Fig. 12 (*a–d*), and may be characterized as

[1] Clark Wissler, Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History, Vol. XVIII, Part III, p. 276.

[2] See Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History, Vol. XVIII, Part I, p. 132.

l: Kroeber E-5 (1901) 1908
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

53 17 follows. The first type (*a*) consists of a pattern of inverted tents.[1] The second type (*b*) consists of a pattern of stemmed crescents and forked upright fishtail figures.[2] The third type (*c*) has for its principal or central design a single figure, one of the characteristic elements of the pure triangular type

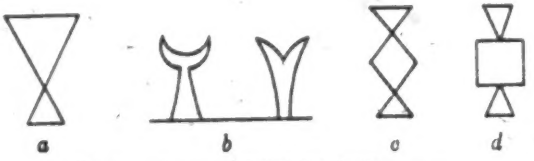


Fig. 12. Designs on Cylindrical Medicine-cases.

of parfleche designs, — a rhombus between two triangles directed toward it. As in parfleches, this figure may be flanked by symmetrical half-figures.[3] The fourth type (*d*) is similar, but substitutes in its principal figure the square-and-triangular type for the purely triangular one. The two Ute medicine-cases shown in Fig. 13 are illustrations.

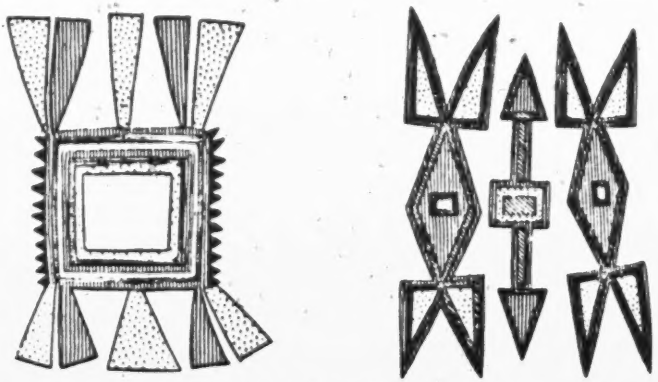


Fig. 13 (50 1255, 50 1276). Ute Medicine-case Designs. Lengths, 40 cm., 71 cm.

Among the Arapaho the tent-pattern seems most common, and next to this the crescent-and-fishtail design. One case of the third type has been found, and none of the fourth. The interesting specimen painted with bear-feet, in the Field Columbian Museum, may also be recalled.

Of Sioux medicine-cases little is known. A specimen in the Museum

[1] See Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History, Vol. XVIII, Part I, Plate xxv, Fig. 1.
[2] Ibid., Vol. XVIII, Part I, Plate xxv, Figs. 2 and 3.
[3] Ibid., Vol. XVIII, Part I, Fig. 43.

1: Kroeber E-5 (1901) 1908
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

531
171

has a design the most prominent figure in which is the spider-web symbol,[1] a concave quadrilateral. Superficially this design resembles those of the fourth type. A specimen in the Museum of the Department of Anthropology of the University of California shows an asymmetrical design, which in some respects approaches each of the four fundamental types here distinguished.

The Ute, to judge from four or five examples in the American Museum of Natural History, employ chiefly the third and fourth types; but their designs of the third or triangular type are almost always tinged with elements of the fourth, or square-and-triangular type.

The Shoshone cases, also represented by several examples, show some variation of pattern; but all are of the triangular type, and generally approach the design illustrated as most elemental. While in parfleches the Shoshone incline more than the Ute to square-and-triangular patterns, they appear to favor them less than the Ute on medicine-cases.

The Blackfoot tribes, also represented in the Museum by several specimens, show the third type, with but little variation from the illustration, quite regularly.

A single Sahaptin case in the Museum is also of this third type.

The only Gros Ventre case obtained is shown in Fig. 27, and the design is of the third type.

A Kiowa case in the Field Columbian Museum, the only specimen from this tribe known to the writer, and previously commented upon,[2] is intermediate between the first and second types.

The Arapaho being the southernmost of the tribes represented, it seems, especially in connection with this Kiowa case, that the first two types of medicine-case designs, the tent and the crescent-and-fishtail patterns, are probably characteristic of the southern Plains. Among the northern, or at least the northwestern, tribes belonging to the Plains culture, designs of the third and fourth types, more closely related to parfleche figures than are the first and second, are clearly prevalent. These are normally of the third or purely triangular form; but among the Ute a special form of the square-and-triangular type of design, found also on the parfleches of this tribe, has strongly influenced the medicine-case designs. Among the Shoshone the fundamentally square-and-triangular tendency of their parfleche-painting is without appreciable effect on their medicine-case style. The position of the Sioux in this classification, although geographically they belong to the northern tribes, remains to be more exactly determined.

[1] Compare Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History, Vol. XVIII, Part III, p. 248.

[2] Ibid., Vol. XVIII, Part I, p. 134.

1: Kroeber E-5 (1901) 1908
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

525 four in all, in two pairs. The Gros Ventre dice are marked with incised
171 lines on one side only. The Arapaho burn marks on the back or convex side in order to distinguish the two sets of dice they use together. The usual Gros Ventre markings consist of diagonal crosses and zigzag lines.
525 A single die is usually specially marked in the middle. By this means the scoring or the playing is elaborated. The number of counters among the
531 Gros Ventre is twelve. Sticks are used for this purpose. The methods

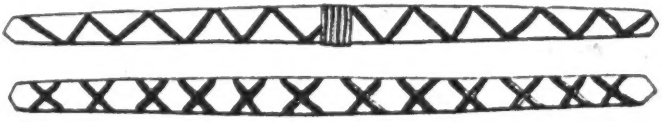


Fig. 14 (50-1768 a, b). Dice. Length, 24 cm.

of counting points are given somewhat differently by various individuals. For this reason the explanations obtained with each set of dice are here presented.

The set of dice one of each of whose pairs is shown in Fig. 14 has one die marked with a bit of string. There are twelve counters. The three unmarked sticks were thrown first. If they fell alike, the other one was thrown separately; but, if one of the first three fell differently from the other two, the marked stick was thrown at it in the hope of turning it over, so that all four sticks might rest alike. If this were the case, whether they were all face up or face down, four points were scored. If two were face up and two face down, two points were scored. If three faced one way and a single one was opposite, nothing was scored.

Fig. 15 (50-1812 b, d). Dice. Lengths, 20 cm., 20¼ cm.

The set of dice of which the two kinds are shown in Fig. 15 is also accompanied by twelve counters. One of the sticks in this set is also marked by being tied around. This set was used somewhat differently, the four sticks being thrown together. If the marked stick fell one way, and the remainder opposite, six points were scored. If all four sticks fell alike, four were scored. If two sticks fell face up and two face down, two were scored; but three sticks one way and one the other, unless this single one happened to be the marked one, counted nothing.

1: Kroeber E-5 (1901) 1908
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

525
531

The four dice shown in Fig. 16 are white on the face and green on the back. One of the plainer pair of sticks is marked on the face with a cross. If this stick fell up while the other three turned face down, six points were counted. If all the dice fell one way, the score was four points; if they fell in pairs, — two green and two banded, or two plain and two green, — two points were scored; while any other combination did not count. A player

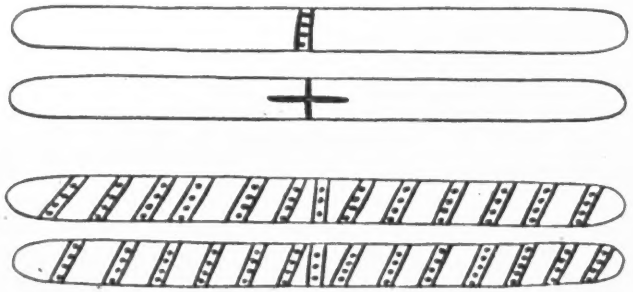


Fig. 16 (50-1000 a, b, c, d). Set of Dice. Length, 23 cm.

that scored was entitled to another throw, but should he fail, his opponent took the dice.

Fig. 17 shows a model of a fourth set of dice, made of bone instead of wood, painted red, and accompanied by twelve counters of grease-wood, pointed at one end to be stuck in the ground. The two pairs of dice are marked respectively with transverse and zigzag incised lines. One of the latter is cut with three parallel lines on the back also. The owner of this

Fig. 17 (50-1000 a, d). Dice. Length, 21 cm.

set scored as follows. Six points were won, if all the dice fell plain side up; and six, if the odd one fell plain side up and the three others marked side up. For all four marked sides up, four points were made; for one pair marked, the other plain, two points; for other combinations there was no score.

A fifth set, Fig. 18, obtained by Dr. Clark Wissler, is of bone. The ornamentation is by small pits. One of the dice with the long single row of dots is marked on the middle of the back with several small holes to set it off from the rest.

1: Kroeber E-5 (1901) 1908
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

524 A form of the widely spread guessing-game occurred among the Gros
531 Ventre. Two buttons, which were enclosed in the hand, were used. At the beginning each player held one button. One of them guessed in which hand the other held the button. If he guessed wrong, his opponent got four counters; but if he guessed right, his opponent must yield the button to him. When he held two, his opponent guessed in which hand each of them was. If his opponent guessed wrong, the player received two counters; but if his opponent was right, the player must hand over both buttons, and himself guess. The game was played for twelve stick counters. These at the beginning were in a pile belonging to neither of the players. This neutral pile was drawn upon until exhausted, before either player gave counters to the other. This method of using counters was customary in Arapaho and Gros Ventre games.

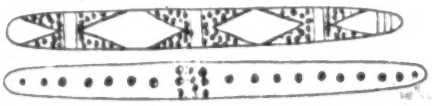


Fig. 18 (50 4325, 50 4325 a). Dice. Lengths, 15 cm., 16 cm.

[M1]

The buttons used in this game are different from those the Arapaho have had in recent years. They lack symbolism altogether, and are even without the red-black color-dualism obvious in the Arapaho game. The elaborate counters, food-sticks, pointers, and head-dresses of the Arapaho are also not found among the Gros Ventre. Of one pair of buttons, one was of brass beads, the other of green glass beads. They were called respectively "long" and "short." Another pair, made of bone, are illustrated in Fig. 19. A single button made of bone, apparently from a tooth-brush-handle, is shown in Fig. 20.

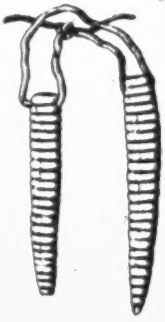


Fig. 19.

Fig. 19 (50 1931 a, b). Hiding-buttons. Length, 7 cm.
Fig. 20 (50 1917). Hiding-button. Length, 6 cm.

Fig. 20.

526 Boys shot arrows or threw sticks
857 at a netted hoop, apparently identical with the Arapaho hoop except for nomenclature. The central mesh, called the "crow" or "crow's heart," won the game for whoever hit it. If the "crow's heart" was not pierced, a point was scored by the arrow nearest to it. An arrow passing through the netting without being held in it counted nothing. If one of the hoops rolled within reach, a player was at liberty to

1: Kroeber E-5 (1901) 1908
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

ever, could find none to stand on, and this was what gave rise to the excitement and amusement. 526

Girls sometimes kicked a football upward, as if juggling with it. Such a football was kicked with the instep, either while free or while held by a string. Fig. 23 shows such a football about six inches in diameter. It is said to be made of the skin of an unborn buffalo-calf, and to be stuffed with fur. It is covered with an unknotted network of sinew strands.

The ordinary balls are much smaller than this one, and lack the sinew network. They are made of soft-dressed skin, and painted. In construction and appearance they are not to be distinguished from Arapaho ghost-dance balls, except that none have yet been seen with a plume on the attached thong, as is customary with the Arapaho. One, approaching the last in size, was said to have been struck with a stick, and is therefore probably a shinny-ball. It lacks a thong. The others are smaller, usually with a double thong, and are said to be stuffed with hair. [171]

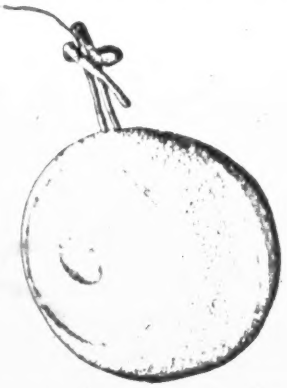


Fig. 24 (50-1981). Ghost-dance Ball. Diameter, 9 cm. [531]

Specimen Museum No. 50-1729 is the thongless ball mentioned as used with a stick. It is painted red. One side has been lightly gone over with a dark paint, blue or black. In the middle of the red side is a small dark cross.

Specimen Museum No. 50-1728 is painted yellow. Along the seam where the two hemispheres are joined, it is red. On one side a hand is outlined in green; on the other side, in red. An Arapaho ball described[1] had a smaller hand painted on it, because, it is said, the hand threw the ball.

The ball one side of which is shown in Fig. 24 was said to have been made in connection with the ghost-dance. One side is primarily dark blue or green; the other, yellow. Each side has on it a central spot and a ring of the opposite color. The symbolism of this painting is not quite consistent, but recalls that of the Arapaho. On the dark side three concentric circles were distinguished, representing three successive existences of the world; the fourth was still to come. On the yellow side the central spot represented the entrance to the sky. It thus seems that the two sides of the ball represent heaven and earth, the future life and this.

[1] See Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History, Vol. XVIII, Part IV, Fig. 150.

1: Kroeber E-5 (1901) 1908
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

counted coup on the enemy filled a pipe, and held it for the rest of the party to smoke as they stood in a row. The returning war-party, if successful, always painted black, but if a member of their own party had been killed, they returned without rejoicing; unless sometimes, when the loss of the enemy had been greater than their own, and a relative of the dead was in the party, he might say, "One of the enemy pays for my relative. On account of the others, let us enjoy ourselves." Then the party would paint black, and celebrate. Wounds received by members of the war-party would not prevent celebration, unless, of course, they resulted fatally; and they were always regarded as an honor.

Some war-parties started off publicly in broad daylight, having made it known that they were going; and any one who wished joined. Sometimes, perhaps, two men would agree to go, and invited such others to accompany them as they wished. Women not infrequently went with the war-parties. If a man was killed in war, his relatives, especially his parents, mourned for him. His father might go to the tent of a renowned warrior, and cry until this man became angry and announced a day for a party to start out to obtain revenge. On the day set, the party left publicly, usually on horseback.

A man's supernatural war paraphernalia are shown in Figs. 27, 28, and 29. They were obtained from a middle-aged man who had them from his grandfather, who first dreamed of the magpie and the other animals connected with the paraphernalia, and made the objects. A cylindrical rawhide case (Fig. 27), such as is found used for holding feathers and medicine among most Plains tribes, is painted with a yellow, green, and blue design resembling parfleche designs. These colors represent the various colors of the birds that were dreamed of by the original owner, and whose feathers are kept in the case. The case is called the "house" of these objects. A wing-bone is attached to the outside of the case to make another whistle from in case of loss of the finished whistle included in the outfit. A small bag containing a necklace is kept in the case. The bag (Fig. 28, *a*) is ornamented with bead-work representing a frog (kaka"). This frog was part of the original owner's dream. The necklace (Fig. 28, *b*) has various wasiō ("medicine-roots") on it. These are said to be neither eaten nor otherwise used, except as they are worn on the necklace. The bone whistle (Fig. 28, *c*) alluded to is attached to a necklace of otter-skin. It is blown during the fighting to prevent injury. A magpie's skin (Fig. 28, *d*) and the skin of a smaller bird (Fig. 29, *a*) are also contained in the case. The white magpie-feathers are dyed yellow. The two skins are worn at the back of the head, and prevent the wearer being injured even in a hand-to-hand fight. A head-dress of ten magpie-feathers and of a white plume on red-painted

1: Kroeber E-5 (1901) 1908
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

237
726
293
778
751

thongs, tied together at the ends with a medicine-bag, and four brass bells (Fig. 29, *b*), is tied to the hair over the front of the head. When the warriors sing before dressing for battle, this head-dress is also used as a rattle. The medicine attached to it is chewed, and rubbed over the owner's body, as well

[531]

Fig. 27. (50-1952 a) Medicine-case for War Paraphernalia. Length, 40 cm.

as over his horse's, after he has painted himself. Two plumes of eagle-down (Fig. 29, *c*) are tied to the horse. One is tied to its fore-leg, the other to its tail. Then it will not be shot, and, if it falls, will not be hurt. In case of flight and pursuit, a little medicine that is attached to these plumes in a small

[text continues on p. 195]

1: Kroeber E-5 (1901) 1908
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

they did not stay in one place, but at times moved about. They shook their rattles constantly. They did not sing, but uttered a pressed-out "Hah." Two atsaan (assistants or servants of the dance) attended near the door. They brought back such of the dancers as became exhausted from lack of sleep and left the ceremony. Two men who had fought and struck a mounted enemy while they themselves were mounted, rode on horseback. When they went to dance, the assistants went to them and helped them dismount. If the dancers were inactive, these two men went about among them to make them arise. If the dancers remained on the ground, they struck them with their whips. The spectators outside lifted up the bottom of the tent and looked underneath; or, as the tent was not very high (the lodge being roofless), those who were on horseback looked over it.

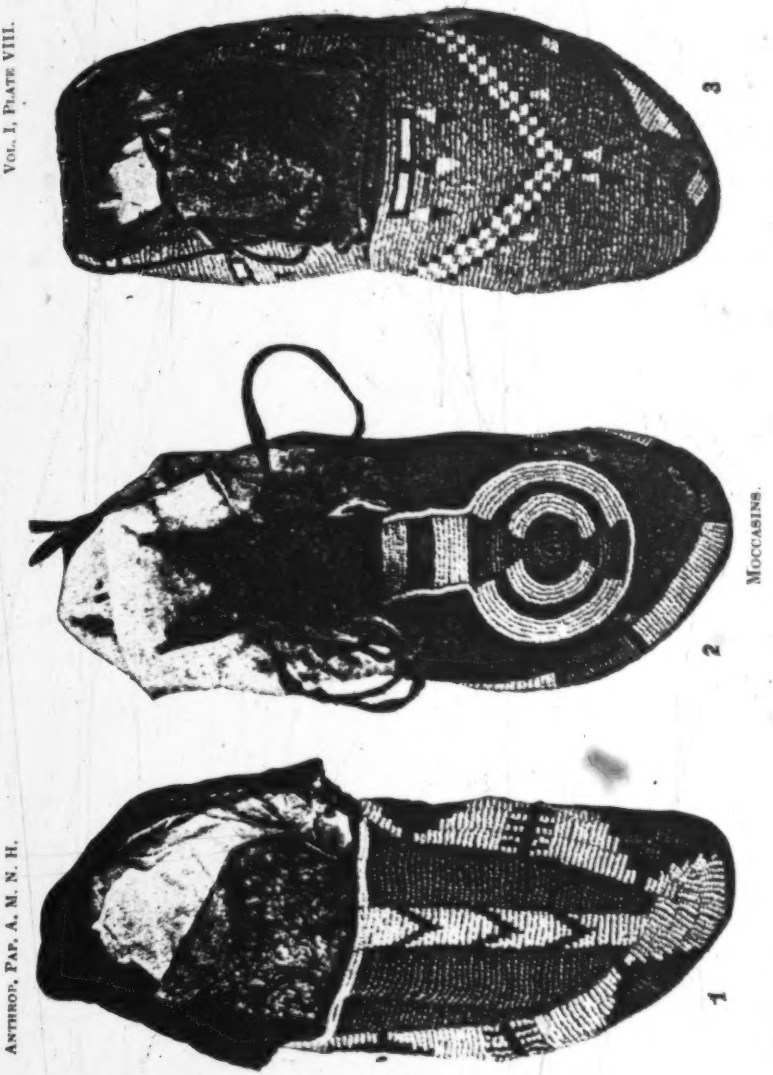
The Gros Ventre star-rattles consist of a tube of rawhide, an inch or less in diameter, bent on itself into a hoop three or four inches across, and attached to a stick handle half a foot or more in length. Apparently one end of the tube projects out from the hoop forming the head of the rattle, sufficiently to allow the stick to be inserted. The rawhide is painted, and ornamented with three or five bunches of feathers. The handle is wrapped with cloth, the upper end of which usually is cut into a small fringe at the base of the head of the rattle, while the lower end hangs free beyond the handle. The general outline of the rattle is similar to the Arapaho star-rattle, this having a round or kite-shaped flat head at the end of the handle. The hoop feature is, however, wanting in the Arapaho rattles, which are without a perforation. The Gros Ventre decorations of their rattles — whether feathers, cloth attachments, or painting — are usually crude and gaudy. It seems that the rattles now in use are a degenerate modern form. In the majority of cases the feathers attached are dyed: some are cut from the quill. This indicates a recent modifying influence. Many of the feathers are cut off transversely. This may or may not be an old feature. The piece shown in Fig. 31 has least of the base qualities of these rattles, and is a probable approximation to the older type.

Of some of the specimens to be seen in the Museum, descriptions are here given.

Fig. 31 (50-1783). Handle covered with red flannel, which hangs below the handle about two feet. Fringe of same at base of head, and same forms periphery of head. Rawhide of head painted blue, red on inside of loop. A string appears to have been wound around the head while the hide was fresh, and removed after the painting, leaving radiating white depressions. Head ornamented at top and sides with three bunches of four black-and-white, squarish, half-downy feathers attached by thongs. At the top there is also an eagle-feather. Handle wound with thong, forming at the end a loop to pass over the wrist. The head of this rattle was said to represent a star.

1: Kroeber E-5 (1901) 1908
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

291
531



VOL. I, PLATE VIII.

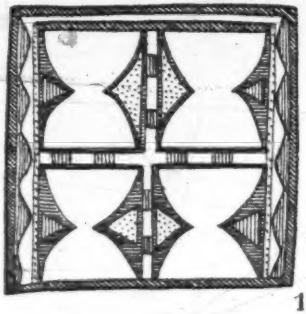
ANTHROP. PAP. A. M. N. H.

MOCCASINS.

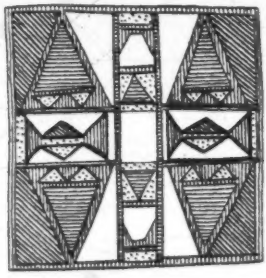
[End plate 1]

1: Kroeber E-5 (1901) 1908
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

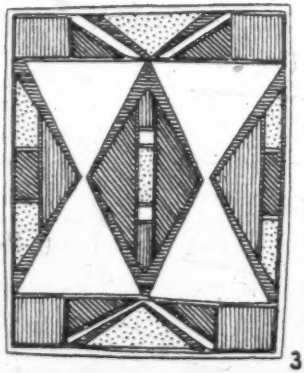
531



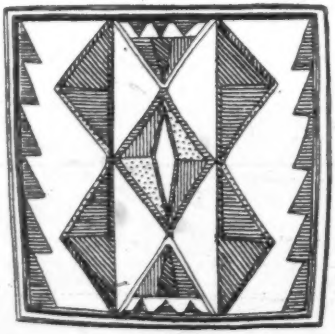
1



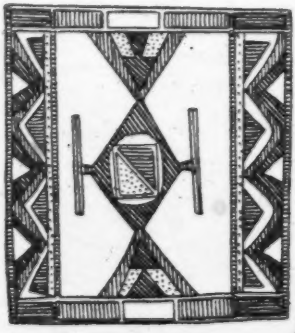
2



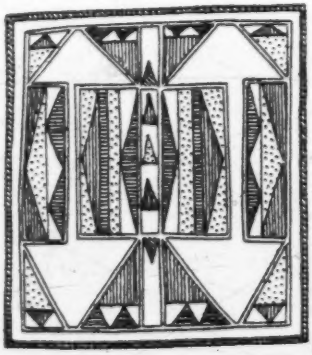
3



4



5



6

ORNAMENTATION OF GROS VENTRE PARFLECHES.

[End Plate 4]

Necessities of Life

Feathers, especially eagle feathers, were highly prized and used 63 292 237 386
paint, prepared from ochre, as well as other paints obtained through the trader, played their part in bodily decoration.

The younger men thought a great deal of their appearance. One 282
of the things they made for themselves was fancy painted sunshade- 751
hats of rawhide. The designs painted thereon had a yellow back- 531
ground against which various other colors stood out. Coming Daylight remarked: "These sunshades looked so fine that the other tribes copied them, just like the whites get their styles from Paris." Long thick hair was the ideal both for men and for 302
women. The tail of the porcupine made an admirable comb. A [237]
number of perfumes were used by the young men. The castor of the beaver, for instance, was put in the paint bag so that the material for daily painting would be sweet smelling. Again, young men crushed "Piegan berries," chewed them, and rubbed them on hair, horses, and bedding, as perfume.

Incidentally, according to Coming Daylight, in order to clean 296
their buckskin clothing, the Gros Ventres would wear it into the water, getting it completely wet, and then rub it thoroughly with a certain kind of white clay.[14] She said that the tribe was spoken of by other tribes as always having such nice white clothes, and to this habit of rubbing them with clay she attributes the name by [101]
which the Gros Ventres call themselves, *a'aninin*, "white clay people."

Ear-rings, worn both by men and women, were made from 301
imported abalone shell, which they cut up and shaped; they also [439]
used a certain type of imported white shell. Many other kinds of necklaces, armlets, and so on were apparently used, but on these we failed to get details.

Household and Transportation

The lodges of the Gros Ventres were made from buffalo hides, 342
the number used in each depending on the size of the lodge. They

[14] This custom is mentioned in the sources of the early 19th century. Cf. Harmon, p. 277; Henry, v. 2, p. 734. The latter adds, as a further distinguishing characteristic, that when the Gros Ventres use red "it is always [822]
of a light color, inclining to pale vermillion. The dark red or Spanish brown, so much in vogue among the other Meadow tribes, does not suit their taste."

2: Flannery E-5 (1940-1948) 1953
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

than six poles would be so tied together, a strong line running through the holes, leaving a loop to go about the horses' neck. Another line was tied around the six, about in the middle, to hold the poles together as the horse dragged them through the water. A mounted horse could draw two sets of six poles across the river at one time, one set on each side, but could not take all the poles for a lodge on a single trip. Meat packed in skin bags was often lashed to the poles and did not suffer in transit. Occasionally older children rode across the river on these poles, and some people paddled across straddling a single log.

The same goods which we have described as used by the Gros Ventre to meet their needs for food, clothing, shelter and transportation were likewise used to meet many other needs. Cloth and clothing, feathers, ornaments, and so forth, were used as religious sacrifices and offerings. Food was used as payment or part-payment for services of those who helped in production of economic goods, or of those who cured diseases, acted in ceremonial capacity of one kind or another, as well as in meeting certain specific kinship obligations. Lodges might be painted in accordance with a supernatural vision, and, with the associated songs, were transferrable to others as ritual objects. Horses were used as payments of various kinds,—in connection with the bride price, to ceremonial grandfathers, and so on. There was thus no medium of exchange within the group and no strict classification into producer's goods as contrasted with consumer's goods is possible.

The older women informants described, when they were young, they would work at scraping skins pegged to the ground, by leaning over from the waist, feet well apart and knees unbent, swinging sideways from the hips. They could keep up this rhythmical steady motion, with the short-handled scraper usually tipped with metal, for hours at a time, one day after another. Sometimes, too, a woman would spend a whole day softening ropes of rawhide by rubbing the rope which had been run through the eye and ear apertures of a buffalo skull upon which the horns had been left so that she, sitting on the ground with legs extended, could rest her feet against the horns as she pulled the rope back and forth, making it soft and white.[4] Nevertheless the tedium of these operations was often relieved by the fact that occasionally other women, who had at the moment some leisure, would hear the work going on and would volunteer to help.

It was customary for women to do much of their work in groups. If a young woman, for instance, wished to make a fine robe, she would call in some other women, including an older experienced "hand." The latter would mark the robe where the embroidery should go, and the younger women did the fancy work. The hostess would cook for all present and so, in a pleasant atmosphere of sociability and "woman talk," the work would progress. A similar type of gathering would be held when a sufficient number of hides had been saved to make a lodge cover.

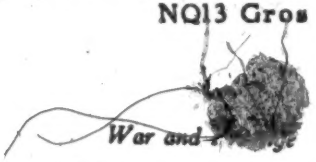
In size the lodges ranged from six skins up to twenty-four or twenty-five, with the average of about fourteen to seventeen.[5] Much skill was needed for cutting and fitting the skins and an experienced woman would be called in to do that part, while the others helped with the task of sewing the skins together. Our informants stated that a woman would have to "save and save" skins towards a new lodge, which was a necessity about every three years.

Women went out in groups to pick berries and wild fruits as well as to dig roots, but each one had right of disposal over what

[4] Another method for softening ropes is given by Kroeber, 1908, p. 150.

[5] The largest lodge remembered by the Gros Ventres is said to have been that of the Blood Chief, Father of All, who had, at the time of the 1855 treaty, a lodge with two fires, poles 65 ft. long, and the cover consisting of more than 25 skins.

2: Flannery E-5 (1940-1948) 1953
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13



the mind was clouded for a while and a man could not remember so well afterwards all that happened in the battle." [14]

The leader was constantly on the alert and tended to interpret anything out of the ordinary as having a bearing on the success or ill fate of his party. As a case in point we have the following account of an expedition in the 1860's. "Lame Bull was on a war party of which Big Beaver was the leader. They went to the Crow country hoping to find some hunters in the mountains. At the timber on the river not far from Crow Mountain, the party stopped near a big tree. It was during a thaw in the spring and after they had eaten, they took off their moccasins and hung them on the tree. Then they sat around and smoked and told stories. All of a sudden they heard an owl in the tree above them calling out: 'Where you are sitting under this tree, you are going to be killed.' The owl called again and said the same thing. Big Beaver said to his party: 'I've lived a long time. But never have I heard anything like this owl talking. Let's put on our moccasins and go fast. I think the owl is telling the truth. I think he knows what is going on and people must be near.' All quickly put on their moccasins, and, as they were putting out the fire and preparing to leave, they heard people yelling. Big Beaver gave instructions: 'Scatter. Don't go in file and don't step in the snow, but keep to the bare places so our tracks won't be seen.' So they ran away and soon reached the mountain. When they got to the top of the mountain, daylight had come. They looked down and saw people at the big tree where they had been, searching around for tracks. The Gros Ventres called at the other Indians to invite attack, but the others only stood and looked up, without trying to catch them."

If the war party happened to be near certain petroglyphs, believed by the Gros Ventres to reveal the future, they went there to read the omens. If they could not then interpret the markings, an offering was left there and the next morning they went again. The markings on the rock were believed to change, and the predictions interpreted therefrom to be accurate. If the omens thus appeared too unfavorable, the whole party might even turn back.

[14] Cf. Kroeber, 1908, pp. 201, 208, for remarks relating to war experiences of individuals.

2: Flannery E-5 (1940-1948) 1953
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

PLATES

142 The original photograph of Plate 1 was taken in 1887 and
291 belongs to The Boy. Shown in it are Lame Bull, The Boy's
301 father, and Crow Bull, maternal uncle of Coming Daylight. Both
302 of these men were born around 1825 and their personal experiences were often referred to by our informants as we took down the record of the old way of life. Each had been Keeper of the sacred Flat Pipe.

115 The photographs composing Plate 2, except for the one of The
133 Boy, were taken in 1940 by Dr. Karl F. Herzfeld. The first three
142 show the nature of the country around Hays on the Fort Belknap
291 Reservation; the other three show some of our informants and
292 interpreters whose biographical sketches follow.

531 In Plate 3, the shield and war medicines of Bull Lodge, father
797 of our informant, Garter Snake, represent only a few of the specimens of Gros Ventre culture collected in 1937 by Mr.
778 Richard Pohrt, of Flint, Michigan.

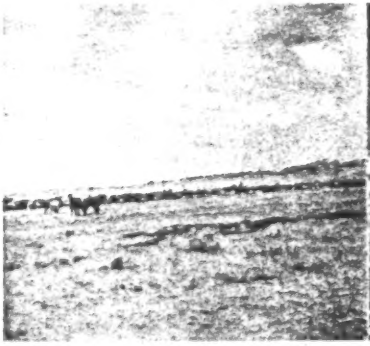
293
714
721

2: Flannery E-5 (1940-1948) 1953
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

115
133
142
291
292
531

IN THE LITTLE ROCKIES

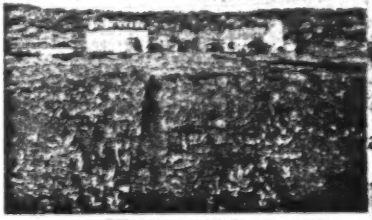
THE BOY



PLAINS NEAR HAYS

MARY, SINGER, AND COMING DAYLIGHT

[342]
[1797]



ST. PAUL'S MISSION AND SCHOOL

COMING DAYLIGHT'S TIPI

PLATE II

[p. 212 (B)]

3: Cooper E-5 (1938-1940) 1957
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

narrow at one temple, broader in front, and narrow at the other temple, to represent the sky and the region above; another under the jawbones and chin, from ear to ear likewise narrow near the ear, broader under the chin, and narrow at the other ear, to represent the earth or dry land. Then with a stamp, made of a stick having a cross of four equal-length arms carved in relief on its end, and dipped into the paint, crosses in red were imprinted on each cheek bone of the adults, on the bridge of the nose according to The Boy, or on the forehead according to Thick, and on both cheeks. This cross-shaped imprint represented the morning star (called simply "the cross" [not "the cross star"] in Gros Ventre), so The Boy and Thick conjectured on their own, but this they never heard from the old people. This painting meant much, it seems, to the people; as Coming Daylight expressed it: "It was a great thing to get painted at Flat Pipe ceremonies." As the people were painted they filed out clockwise. The rite ordinarily took a long time and only ended when the last of the people quit coming in. During it the strict silence was not observed by the ex-keepers and other privileged persons in the lodge; they chatted and smoked freely.

Two other songs (No. 40 and No. 41), both wordless, were now sung by the keeper and the small groups in the lodge. After the first of these two songs the keeper painted with red paint the sacred objects kept in the Pipe bundle: the Pipe case proper, the bird skins, the rattles, and so forth. After the second, the co-keeper painted the sacred objects connected with the Pipe but not kept in the bundle: the tripod, pipe saddle and so forth. Meanwhile or at the end of the painting, the keeper told further details regarding the history and significance of the Flat Pipe and the sacred objects associated with it. After all this a long recess was taken with free smoking and chatting.

After the recess came the third triad of songs and the re-wrapping and re-tying of the Pipe bundle. The order of the songs, as well as The Boy could remember was: The Last Child Song (No. 42), The Rope Song (No. 43), The Horse Song (No. 44), all three, wordless except for short sentences in the middle, of these were brought back by He-who-starved-to-death